

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 IO-13 OIC-04 AEC-11 ACDA-19 OMB-01

CIAE-00 PM-07 INR-10 L-03 NEA-10 NSAE-00 PA-03 RSC-01

PRS-01 SPC-03 USIA-15 TRSE-00 MBFR-04 SAJ-01 H-03

NSC-10 SS-15 DRC-01 /161 W

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P R 212245Z SEP 73

FM USMISSION NATO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 1694

SECDEF WASHDC PRIORITY

INFO USNMR SHAPE

USCINCEUR

AMEMBASSY ANKARA

AMEMBASSY PARIS

USMISSION GENEVA

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY BONN

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 USNATO 4446

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM NATO

SUBJECT: MBFR: SEPTEMBER 20 SPC DISCUSSION OF SECTIONS II-V

GENEVA FOR USDEL CSCE

REF: A) STATE 186027 (NOTAL) B) STATE 186101 (NOTAL)

SUMMARY: SENIOR POLADS MET MORNING AND AFTERNOON OF SEPTEMBER 20 ON SECTIONS II THROUGH V OF MBFR PAPER. MOST EXTENSIVE DISCUSSION INVOLVED PARAGRAPH ON CONTINGENCY MEASURES FOR THE FLANKS (PARA. 12 BIS), BUT DIFFERENCES BETWEEN US AND TURKEY REMAIN UNRESOLVED. UK HOLDING OFF AGREEMENT TO PRE-REDUCTION STABILIZING MEASURES FOR FURTHER STUDY AND ALSO HOPES FOR CLARIFICATION OF CBM'S IN CSCE FRAMEWORK. IN PRELIMINARY DISCUSSION, COMMITTEE ACCEPTED US PAPER ON SECTIONS IV AND V (STATE 181536) AS BASIS FOR WORK.

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FRG REP TOLD US PRIVATELY THAT HE COULD NOT MOVE UNTIL HIGH-LEVEL MEETINGS IN BONN FOLLOWING SCHEEL-KISSINGER BILATERAL. ACTION REQUESTED: INSTRUCTIONS, IF POSSIBLE BY SEPTEMBER 25, FOR HANDLING 12 BIS. END SUMMARY.

SECTION II

1. THE FOLLOWING COMMENTS ARE KEYED TO NUMBERED PARAS FOURTH IS DRAFT (USNATO 4336):

PARA 4, FOOTNOTE. FRENCH INTRODUCED REVISION OF FOOTNOTE, WHICH COMMITTEE ACCEPTED WITH MINOR CHANGES. INFORMAL MISSION TRANSLATION FOLLOWS: THE MEASURES PRECEDING, ACCOMPANYING OR FOLLOWING REDUCTIONS

, AS WELL AS REDUCTIONS THEMSELVES WHICH COULD BE DECIDED WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF THE NEGOTIATIONS ON THE REDUCTION OF FORCES, COULD NOT IN ANY MANNER INVOLVE THE FRENCH FORCES WHICH ARE STATIONED IN THE FRG IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE BILATERAL ACCORDS REACHED BETWEEN BONN AND PARIS IN 1966. THESE FORCES ARE NEVERTHELESS COUNTED IN INTERNAL CALCULATIONS OF ALLIANCE GROUND FORCES IN THE REDUCTION AREA."

PARA 5. US REP ACCEPTED LAST SENTENCE, BUT MADE STATEMENT OF ASSUMPTIONS CONTAINED REF A. ITALIAN REP AGREED WITH THESE ASSUMPTIONS AND SHARED THE CONCERNS WHICH THEY EXPRESSED.

PARA 6. UK REP (LOGAN) HELD OUT "NO HOPE" FOR CHANGE IN UK ATTITUDE TOWARDS PRE-REDUCTION STABILIZING MEASURES LISTED IN SUB-PARAS (II) TO (IV). LONDON CONSIDERED THIS A MATTER OF REAL IMPORTANCE AND DOES NOT BELIEVE THAT THE POLITICAL AND MILITARY IMPLICATIONS OF THESE MEASURES HAVE BEEN ADEQUATELY STUDIED. IT IS ALSO DIFFICULT TO EVALUATE THESE MEASURES UNTIL IT BECOMES CLEARER HOW CBM'S WOULD FARE IN CSCE. HE COULD SUGGEST CHANGING THE SENTENCE BEFORE THE SUB-PARAS TO READ "WOULD CONSIDER SEEKING" IN LIEU OF "WILL SEEK." US AND DUTCH REPS ARGUED THAT THIS WOULD ONLY POSTPONE RESOLUTION OF THIS PRESSING QUESTION AND URGED EARLY DECISION. RATHER THAN AVOIDING THE ISSUE, BELGIAN AND US REPS THOUGH SOME OTHER SOLUTION MIGHT BE POSSIBLE, E.G. AGREEING NOW THAT THESE MEASURES WOULD APPLY TO US AND SOVIET FORCES, WHILE HOLDING FOR FURTHER CONSIDERATION WITHIN THE ALLIANCE THE POSSIBILITY OF PARTICIPATION BY NON-US NATO FORCES. FRG REP SAID HE COULD
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ACCEPT MEASURES WITH DELETION OF TERM "LOCATIONS," AND BELGIAN REP SAID HE WAS STILL FULLY NOT SATISFIED WITH US EXPLANATION FOR INCLUDING "LOCATIONS."
FRG, CANADIAN, AND DUTCH REPS BELIEVED IT WAS IMPORTANT TO INCLUDE OTHER NATO FORCES IN PRE-REDUCTION STABILIZING MEASURES, IN ORDER TO GIVE A MULTILATERAL CHARACTER TO THE FIRST PHASE. US REP SECONDED THIS. COMMITTEE AGREED TO LEAVE THESE SUB-PARAS UNCHANGED AND REFER TO THE COUNCIL THE QUESTION OF WHETHER NON-US NATO FORCES SHOULD PARTICIPATE IN PRE-REDUCTION STABILIZING MEASURES. RE THIRD BRACKETED SENTENCE OF PARA 6, ITALIAN REP ACCEPTED THE US SUGGESTED CHANGE AD REF, THUS BRACKETS DROPPED..

PARA 7. BELGIUM AGREED TO SUGGESTION BY SEVERAL DELS THAT
SECOND BRACKETTED SENTENCE BE

DROPPED ENTIRELY, SINCE IT WAS UNNECESSARY. FRG REP DROPPED FINAL
SENTENCE IN PARAGRAPH.

PARA 12 BIS. US REP PROPOSED CHANGES CONTAINED REF A. AND
STATED US CONDITIONS. TURKISH REP (TULUMEN) SAID HE COULD ACCEPT
PRESENT TEXT OF 12 BIS IF THE TERM "POSSIBLE" WERE DROPPED AND THE
PHRASE "AT A TIME TO BE FIXED." WERE ADDED SO THAT TURKISH VERSION
OF FINAL HALF OF SENTENCE WOULD READ AS FOLLOWS: "...CERTAIN
PROVISIONS DESIGNED FOR USE WITH THE OTHER SIDE AT A TIME TO BE
FIXED IN THE LIGHT OF THE TACTICAL NEGOTIATING SITUATION, SHOULD
BE URGENTLY STUDIED AND AGREED UPON WITHIN THE ALLIANCE, SUCH
AS ...". TULUMEN SAID THAT HE APPRECIATED THE US MOVE TOWARDS
AGREEMENT, BUT THAT HE COULD ACCEPT NO REPEAT NO CHANGE IN THE
LANGUAGE OF PARA 12 BIS EXCEPT THE TWO CHANGES WHICH HE HAD PROPOSED.
HE POINTED OUT THAT IN RETURN FOR ACCEPTANCE OF THIS PARAGRAPH WITH
HIS TWO PROPOSED CHANGES, HE WOULD DROP HIS BRACKETS AROUND PARA
10 AND AROUND "TANKS" WHEREEVER THAT TERM APPEARED, AND WOULD DROP
SUB-PARA THREE IN PARA 11. UK REP ALSO AGREED TO DROP 11(III)
IF 12 BIS ACCEPTED. VARIOUS REPS TRIED A NUMBER OF FORMULATIONS
TO MEET BOTH US AND TURKISH CONCERNS, INCLUDING ACCEPTING US
PLUS TURKISH AMENDMENTS, BUT NONE SUCCEEDED IN CLOSING THE GAP
BETWEEN THE US INTEREST IN WISHING TO AVOID ANY IMPLICATION OF
AGREEMENT AT THIS TIME TO ADVANCE SUCH PROVISIONS AND THE TURK-
ISH DESIRE TO ENSURE THAT THERE WOULD BE NO OBSTACLES TO INTRO-
DUCING SUCH MEASURES IF IT BECAME NECESSARY TO DO SO IN NEGOTIATIONS.

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COMMITTEE AGREED TO LEAVE PRESENT LANGUAGE IN PARA 12 BIS AS IT
STANDS AND REFER QUESTION TO THE COUNCIL. (COMMENT: TULUMEN
TOLD US PRIVATELY THAT BOTH HE AND AMBASSADOR ERALP HAD APPLIED
ALL OF THEIR INFLUENCE TO GET ANKARA TO ACCEPT 12 BIS AND DROP
REMAINING BRACKETS AROUND US PROPOSALS.

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 1695
SECDEF WASHDC PRIORITY
INFO USNMR SHAPE
USCINCEUR
AMEMBASSY ANKARA
AMEMBASSY PARIS
USMISSION GENEVA
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY BONN

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HE SAID REPEATEDLY THAT
REOPENING THIS TEXT AGAIN IN ANKARA WOULD HAVE A STRONGLY COUNTER-
RODUCTIVE EFFECT. WE, OF COURSE, REITERATED OUR DEEP CONCERNS
OVE ANY PRIOR COMMITMENT TO USE SUCH MEASURES IN MBFR. BARRING
A SWITCH IN TURKISH POSITION, WHICH AT THE MOMENT APPEARS UN-
LIKELY, WASHINGTON MIGHT CONSIDER THE FOLLOWING SCENARIO. AT
THE NEXT NAC DISCUSSION OF SECTION II AMBASSADOR RUMSFELD WOULD
ACCEPT 12 BIS WITH TURKISH CHANGES BUT WOULD REITERATE CONDI-
TIONS FOR ACCEPTANCE AS STIPULATED IN REF A. AMBASSADOR ERALP
WOULD STATE THAT SUCH MEASURES WOULD CERTAINLY NOT BE USED AT
THE OUTSET; INDEED THEY WOULD BE USED ONLY IF THE NEED ARISES
IN LIGHT OF THE
TACTICAL NEGOTIATING SITUATION HE WOULD THEN DROP REMAINING
TURKISH BRACKETS THROUGHOUT PAPER. THIS EXCHANGE OF STATEMENTS
WOULD THUS BREAK IMPASSE ON TEXTS AND ADD THE ORAL INTERPRETA-
TIONS OF BOTH SIDES. WE BELIEVE TURKS WOULD BE PREPARED TO
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ACCEPT THIS APPROACH. REQUEST GUIDANCE ON THIS APPROACH.
END COMMENT.

PARA 13. COMMITTEE ACCEPTED US PROPOSED CHANGE AND DROPPED
BRACKETS AROUND LAST TWO SENTENCES.

PARA 15. US REP DREW ON REF A AND MAINTAINED BRACKETS AROUND
SENTENCE CONCERNING PARTICIPATION OF LIAISON OFFICERS.

SECTION III.

2. FOLLOWING COMMENTS ARE KEYED TO IS TEXT:

PARA 1. UK REP PROPOSED REPLACING "SAY, THE FIRST TWO TO
FOUR MONTHS" BY "DURING THE FIRST FEW MONTHS, DEPENDING UPON
THE POLITICAL AND NEGOTIATING SITUATION." (COMMENT: REQUEST
GUIDANCE ON WHETHER WE CAN ACCEPT UK FORMULATION.)

PARA 13. UK BELIEVED THAT PRESS STORIES MADE IT MORE RATHER
THAN LESS NECESSARY THAN BEFORE TO WITHHOLD 700,000 FIGURE.

SECTIONS IV AND V

3. US REP REQUESTED PRELIMINARY GENERAL REACTION TO US PAPER. COMMITTEE REACTED FAVORABLY TO PAPER AND AGREED TO USE IT AS THE BASIS FOR DRAFTING ON SECTIONS IV AND V. BELGIAN AND DUTCH REPS CONSIDERED THAT PAPER DIMINISHED SOMEWHAT THE ROLE OF THE COUNCIL AS AGREED IN PO/72/413 (REVISED) AND WAS OPEN TO TOO MANY INTERPRETATIONS. THE US REP RESPONDED THAT A PAPER OF THIS KIND COULD NOT BE EXPECTED TO COVER EVERY POSSIBLE CONTINGENCY AND AT A CERTAIN POINT ONE HAD TO RELY ON THE JUDGEMENT AND COMMON SENSE OF THE PEOPLE INVOLVED. SPC WILL BEGIN DETAILED PARAGRAPH-BY-PARAGRAPH REVIEW OF US TEXT ON SEPTEMBER 26.

4. NEXT STEPS. IS WILL NOW PREPARE A COMPLETE NEW TEXT, IN THE "POLADS" SERIES, OF SECTIONS I, II, AND III. PARAGRAPHS WILL BE NUMBERED CONSECUTIVELY THROUGHOUT STARTING WITH THE FIRST PARAGRAPH OF SECTION I (SECRET GUIDELINES). NEW TEXT WILL BE AVAILABLE

EARLY NEXT WEEK. SPC SCHEDULE WILL BE AS FOLLOWS:

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MONDAY, SEPT. 24 - PRESS AND PUBLIC AFFAIRS

WEDNESDAY, SEPT. 26 - SECTIONS IV AND V

THURSDAY, SEPT. 27 - PRESS AND PUBLIC AFFAIRS

COMMITTEE AGREED SECTIONS II AND III WILL BE A STANDING ITEM ON SPC AGENDA UNTIL THEY ARE COMPLETED.

5. AD HOC GROUP. UK REP AGREED THAT AD HOC GROUP SHOULD MEET FOR ONE WEEK IN BRUSSELS BEGINNING OCTOBER 8, BUT PREFERRED THAT AD HOC GROUP MEETING IN VIENNA BEGIN ON OCTOBER 16 INSTEAD OF OCTOBER 15. DUTCH REP PREFERRED OCTOBER 9 FOR OPENING OF BRUSSELS MEETING.
RUMSFELD

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